"And thus is the pesher of the word" (1QpHab II:5). Reflections on the twofold interpretation of Hab 1:5 in 1QpHab II:1–4, 5–10

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1QpHab provides insight into one of the earliest receptions of the prophetic book. The pesher offers a continuous citation of passages from Hab 1–2, each of which are interpreted in discrete pesher sections. A peculiarity in this regard is Hab 1:5 that receives two discrete interpretations. The double pesher has long "become a *locus clasicus* for literary growth in the Pesharim […]."[1] This paper will attempt to show that 1QpHab II:1–10 not only attests to literary heterogeneity within 1QpHab. Rather, the lemma-pesher-correspondence may also offer us valuable insight into the reception of the prophetic book that, in turn, may prove fruitful for diachronic assumptions regarding the genesis of the biblical text.

In order to verify this hypothesis, we will first investigate the object of interpretation, i.e. the prophetic lemma (1). Subsequently, we will turn to the interpretations of Hab 1:5 in 1QpHab II:1–4.5–10 (2). The analysis will conclude with a brief summary (3).

(1) The prophetic lemma Hab 1:5

The book of Habakkuk commences with a superscription that identifies the following context as an oracle (משא) received by the prophet Habakkuk. Contrary to this description the subsequent verses offer a lament, in which the prophet accuses Yhwh of letting evil prevail. "How long, Yhwh, will I call for help, and you wil not hear? I cry out to you, 'Violence!' Yet you do not save. Why do you make me see iniquity, and you, yourself, look on wickedness? Destruction and violence are before me […]" (Hab 1:2f). Hab 1:4b correlates the accusation directed toward the deity with iniquities caused by human evildoers. "[…] For the wicked surround the righteous. Therefore, justice comes out perverted."

In Hab 1:5 the change of addressee indicates a caesura. The speech is no longer addressed to Yhwh, but rather envisions a group of addressees in the 3rd person masculine plural. The identity of both speaker and addressees is not unveiled explicitly. Nor is the purpose of the speech at first sight obvious. Implicitly, some

[1] HARTOG, P.B.: "The Final Priests of Jerusalem" and "The Mouth of the Priest": Eschatology and Literary History in Pesher Habakkuk, DSS 24 (2017), 59–80 (65).

information can be gleaned from the immediate context. The imperatives והביטו … ראוin Hab 1:5 harken back to the prophetic lament in Hab 1:3: למה תראני און ועמל תביט. The correspondence between both verses suggests that the one who was blamed for looking upon evil in v. 3 is reacting to this accusation in v. 5. The speaker in v. 5 would then have to be identified with the deity, who commands the addressees to "look among the nations and see".[2]

The purpose of the divine demand is clarified in the subsequent context: The addressees shall look upon the *nations*, for Yhwh will raise up one of those *nations*. The addressees shall be astonished and astounded, for this nation will be fierce and impetuous. "Their horses are swifter than leopards and sharper than steppe wolves. Their horsemen come galloping […], they fly like an eagle swooping down to devour. […] They collect captives like sand." (Hab 1:8f). The description of the velocity and efficacy of the nation in v. 8f unfolds their description from v. 6a. Their perception as being raised by Yhwh identifies their function as tool of divine judgment.[3]

What remains ambiguous is the identity of the addressees in Hab 1:5. The obvious interconnection between Hab 1:3a, 5a suggests that the divine speech directly relates to the prophetic complaint regarding the prevalence of violence and iniquity. The divine speech would thus constitute the immediate response to the prophetic complaint. The addressed audience would then most likely include the group of the righteous as represented by the prophet. On their behalf Yhwh overcomes his inactivity and abolishes the prevalence of violence and iniquity. In this context the divine speech would represent a promise of salvation for the righteous.[4]

Hab 1:2–3, 5–6a

Prophetic lament: Prevalence of violence and iniquity

[2] עד אנה יהוה שועתי ולא תשמע אזעק אליך חמס ולא תושיע: [3] למה תראני און ועמל תביט ושד וחמס לנגדי ויהי ריב ומדון ישא:

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[2] Cf. FOHRER, G.: Die Propheten des Alten Testaments. Die Propheten des 7. Jahrhunderts, Gütersloh 1974, 39; PFEIFFER, H.: Jahwes Kommen von Süden. Jdc 5; Hab 3; Dtn 33 und Ps 68 in ihrem literatur- und theologiegeschichtlichen Umfeld (FRLANT 211), Göttingen 2005, 138.

[3] Cf. Am 6:14: כי הנני מקים עליכם בית ישראל נאם יהוה אלהי הצבאות גוי ולחצו אתכם מלבוא חמת עד נחל הערבה.

[4] Cf. PFEIFFER, Süden, 138.

Divine Answer: Promise of salvation for the righteous

[5] ראו בגוים והביטו והתמהו תמהו כי פעל פעל בימיכם לא תאמינו כי יספר: [6] כי הנני מקים את הכשדים הגוי המר והנמהר […]:

A different frame of reference emerges when we include v. 4 into the equation. The verse mentions the wicked, whose oppression of the righteous illustrates the lack of divine righteousness in the earthly realm. Accordingly, any implementation of divine justice needs to involve their punishment. In reaction to v. 4 the addressees from v. 5 could then be perceived as the human initiators of injustice. In this case, the divine speech would constitute a proclamation of judgment against the wicked.[5]

Hab 1:2–6a

Prophetic lament: Prevalence of the wicked

[2] עד אנה יהוה שועתי ולא תשמע אזעק אליך חמס ולא תושיע: [3] למה תראני און ועמל תביט ושד וחמס לנגדי ויהי ריב ומדון ישא: [4] על כן תפוג תורה ולא יצא לנצח משפט כי רשע מכתיר את הצדיק על כן יצא משפט מעקל:

Divine Answer: Proclamation of judgment against the wicked

[5] ראו בגוים והביטו והתמהו תמהו כי פעל פעל בימיכם לא תאמינו כי יספר: [6] כי הנני מקים את הכשדים הגוי המר והנמהר […]:

The evidence illustrates that in the context of Hab 1–6 the mention of the wicked in v. 4 shifts focus from the accusation of the deity towards the accusation of human evildoers and disrupts the dialogue between the prophet as representative of the righteous (v. 2f) and his god (v. 5f). V. 4 may then, perhaps, represent a later addition that aims to visualize the violence described by the prophet in v. 2f and thereby ambiguates the understanding of v. 5.

The LXX could support this assumption. Over against the MT, the LXX identifies the addressees explicitly: ἴδετε οἱ καταφρονηταί καὶ ἐπιβλέψατε. The vocative καταφρονηταί reminds of Hab 1:13b, where the LXX reads καταφρονοῦντας for Hebrew בוגדים. The evidence suggests that the noun καταφρονηταί in Hab 1:5 goes back to Hebrew בוגדים, which strongly resembles the consonants in MT: בגוים.[6] The different versions could, hence, attest to a misreading. In this regard, literary priority of the reading בגוים is suggested by

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[5] Cf. PFEIFFER, Süden, 136f.

[6] Cf. FABRY, H.-J.: Ambakum Habakuk, in: LXX.E II, Stuttgart 2011, 2413–2428 (2419); PERLITT, L.: Die Propheten Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja (ATD 25/1), Göttingen 2004, 52, or COLLINS, J.J.: Prophecy and History in the Pesharim, in: M. Popović (ed.), Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism (JSJ.S 141), Leiden 2010, 209–226 (217).

inner criteria, more precisely by the progression of thought in Hab 1:5–9. The addressees shall look among the nations, for Yhwh will raise up one of those nations, which will then act as tool of divine judgment (Hab 1:6b–9).[7] The mention of גוי in Hab 1:5a is thus well-embedded in the context of the divine speech.

Further observations suggest that Hab 1:5 LXX represents an elaborate interpretation of Hab 1:5 MT against the backdrop of the broader literary context. As mentioned above, the vocative καταφρονηταί "traitors" anticipates the context of the second prophetic lament in Hab 1:13b (בוגדים, καταφρονοῦντας). There, the traitors stand in parallel with the "wicked" (רשע). The "wicked" (רשע), again, had already been accused of oppressing the righteous in Hab 1:4, i.e. in the verse that immediately precedes the divine speech at hand. The LXX thus identifies the evildoer from Hab 1:4 as the addressee of divine judgment proclaimed in Hab 1:5f. This understanding is supported by a plus that the LXX shows over against MT, namely καὶ ἀφανίσθητε "and you [i.e. the traitors] shall perish".[8]

In the broader context the demise of the traitors contrasts the promise of life for the righteous in Hab 2:4. The understanding of Hab 1:5 against the explicit backdrop of Hab 2:4b may have been triggered by the reference to Hebrew אמן in both verses. In Hab 1:5b MT the negated imperfect לא תאמינו continues the imperatives והתמהו תמהו and refers to the incredulous amazement of the addressees. The divine deed is so marvelous that the audience may not believe it (Hab 1:5b).[9] In Hab 2:4 MT the root appears as the noun אמונה "faithfulness" and represents the foundation of the promise that the righteous will live (וצדיק באמונתו יחיה). The LXX translates ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται. The phrase ἐκ πίστεώς μου may simply attest to a waw-yod-confusion. Yet, it explicitly identifies the trust as faithfulness to the deity and thus clarifies, what in MT can only be deduced implicitly from the broader context.[10]

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[7] Cf. THOMPSON, M.E.W.: Prayer, Oracle and Theophany. The Book of Habakkuk, Tyndale Bulletin 44/1 (1993), 33–53 (46); HOUSE, P.R.: Dramatic Coherence in Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah, in: J.W. Watts/P.R. House (ed.), Forming Prophetic Literature. Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve (FS J.D. Watts, JSOT.S 235), Sheffield 1996, 195–208 (203), or PFEIFFER, Süden, 137f. Differently, SWEENEY, M.: The Twelve Prophets (Berit Olam), Collegeville/MN 2000, 292f, or JOHNSON, M.D.: The Paralysis of Torah in Habakkuk I 4, VT 35/3 (1985), 257–266 (257f).

[8] For the plus in the LXX cf. FABRY, Ambakum, 2419.

[9] Cf. RUDNIG-ZELT, S.: Glaube im Alten Testament. Eine begriffsgeschichtliche Untersuchung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Jes 7,1–17; Dtn 1–3; Num 13–14 und Gen 22,1–19 (BZAW 452), Berlin 2017, 85, 98.

[10] For the deviations in the LXX cf. FABRY, Ambakum, 2421.

It is this theological understanding of אמן from Hab 2:4 MT[11] that underlies its translation and contextualization in Hab 1:5 LXX. The disbelief means the lack of faithfulness to Yhwh. It constitutes the superordinate reason for divine punishment of the traitors.

Hab 1:4f, 13 MT

4 על כן תפוג תורה ולא יצא לנצח משפט כי רשע מכתיר את הצדיק על כן יצא משפט מעקל:
5 ראו בגוים [בוגדים] והביטו והתמהו תמהו כי פעל פעל בימיכם לא תאמינו כי יספר:
13 טהור עינים מראות רע והביט אל עמל לא תוכל למה תביט בוגדים תחריש בבלע רשע צדיק ממנו:

Hab 2:4

4 הנה עפלה לא ישרה נפשו בו וצדיק באמונתו יחיה:

Hab 1:4f, 13 LXX

4 διὰ τοῦτο διεσκέδασται νόμος, καὶ οὐ διεξάγεται εἰς τέλος κρίμα, ὅτι ὁ ἀσεβὴς καταδυναστεύει τὸν δίκαιον· ἕνεκεν τούτου ἐξελεύσεται τὸ κρίμα διεστραμμένον. 5 ἴδετε, οἱ καταφρονηταί, καὶ ἐπιβλέψατε καὶ θαυμάσατε θαυμάσια καὶ ἀφανίσθητε, διότι ἔργον ἐγὼ ἐργάζομαι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑμῶν, ὃ οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε ἐάν τις ἐκδιηγῆται.
13 καθαρὸς ὀφθαλμὸς τοῦ μὴ ὁρᾶν πονηρά, καὶ ἐπιβλέπειν ἐπὶ πόνους οὐ δυνήσῃ· ἵνα τί ἐπιβλέπεις ἐπὶ καταφρονοῦντας; παρασιωπήσῃ ἐν τῷ καταπίνειν ἀσεβῆ τὸν δίκαιον;

Hab 2:4 LXX

4 ἐὰν ὑποστείληται, οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐν αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται.

What the above evidence illustrates is that the divine speech in Hab 1:5 MT is ambiguous and polyseme. It could either be interpreted as a promise of salvation for the righteous or as a proclamation of judgment against the wicked. The LXX avoids this ambiguity and – in consideration of the broader literary context – identifies the divine speech as proclamation of judgment against the traitors. From this we may conclude that the reception in the LXX attests to comprehension difficulties in the Hebrew Vorlage that are interpreted in light of the reading perspective that determines the "finalized" text.

With these observations in mind, we will now turn to the reception of Hab 1:5 in 1QpHab II:1–4, 5–10.

11 Cf. RUDNIG-ZELT, Glaube, 85, 98.

(2) The reception of Hab 1:5 in 1QpHab II:1–4, 5–10

The double interpretation of Hab 1:5 in 1QpHab II:1–10 has "become a *locus classicus* for literary growth in the Pesharim […]."[12] As to how the growth of this passage is to be understood, however, opinions vary. In the recent past, STEPHEN LLEWELLYN, STEPHANIE NG, GARETH WEARNE and ALEXANDRA WRATHALL have assumed a combination of sources. In this regard, they point out the different perspectives in Col. II:1–4, 5–10.

> I. The first pesher looks back to the community's past. It recounts the failure of the traitors to trust the teacher of righteousness and to trust the covenant of God. The form of the verbs is perfect. The second pesher refers to a future time, the last of days. It talks about what is going to occur and uses the imperfect.
> II. The teacher appears in both pesharim, though in the first he is the bearer of the words from God's mouth, whereas in the second he is the interpreter of the words of the prophets.[13]

From these observations Llewellyn et al. conclude that "the double pesher has used two distinct interpretations that did not arise concurrently."[14] In their view this assumption is supported by formal observations, namely the *vacat* between the two pesher sections, the explicit introduction of the second pesher section with וכן and the scribal sign (א) to the left margin of Col. II:5, each of which may indicate a literary seam.[15]

The assumptions made by Llewellyn et al. are problematic for multiple reasons. Firstly, *aleph* as a scribal sign only occurs once in 1QpHab. Its purpose is highly disputed and by no means obvious in the current literary context. Secondly, there is good reason to believe that the *vacats* in 1QpHab, which precede the interpretation of a lemma, were introduced by the scribe, who copied the extant manuscript.[16] The most obvious indication in this regard is a scribal mistake in Col. III:7. There, the scribe apparently mistook the verb פשו for the noun פשר and, hence, disrupted the quotation of Hab 1:8 by inserting a *vacat*. The misreading was then corrected by "superimposing of a very wide *waw* on the *resh*"[17].

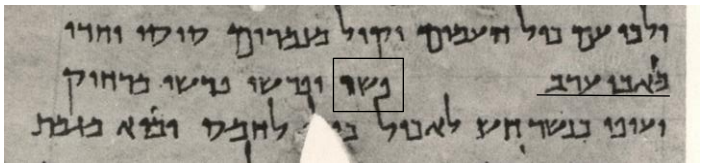
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[12] HARTOG, Priests, 65.
[13] LLEWELLYN, S. et al.: A Case for two Vorlagen, in: Tzoref, S./Young, I., Keter Shem Tov. Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of Alan Crown, Berlin 2013, 123–150 (135).
[14] LLEWELLYN et al., Case, 135.
[15] LLEWELLYN et al., Case, 134.
[16] Cf. LLEWELLYN et al., Case, 132f.
[17] TOV, E.: Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert, Leiden 2004, 23.

Hab 1:8 MT

וקלו מנמרים סוסיו וחדו מזאבי ערב ופשו[8] פרשיו ופרשיו מרחוק יבאו יעפו כנשר חש לאכול׃

1QpHab III,6-8[18]



In view of this evidence the scribe of the manuscript seems to have proceeded in a rather mechanical fashion. He apparently took the noun פשר in his *Vorlage* as a signal that prompted him to introduce *vacats*, thus separating the interpretation from the lemma. At least for the interpretation of Hab 1:8 it is, furthermore, obvious that this scribe cannot equal the author of the interpretation. For whoever wrote the interpretation would have known, where the quotation of the lemma ended and the interpretation commenced. The *vacat* in Col. II:5 needs to be understood against this backdrop and may, thus, not be overestimated as indication of a literary seam.

Further problems arise regarding the different perspective of the pesher sections. While the change may indicate literary growth, it does not necessarily follow that the interpretations were copied from independent written sources. As PIETER B. HARTOG puts it:

> Another problem with the suggestions of Llewelyn and his colleagues is their exclusive focus on written *Vorlagen* of 1QpHab. This focus does not do justice to the complexities of literary development: if Pesher Habakkuk exhibits literary growth, this does not imply that additions to the Pesher must derive from written sources. They may have originated orally, or they may have been the invention of a scribe who incorporated his findings directly into the manuscript he was producing.[19]

Hartog himself proposes a model of reworking that is primarily based on correspondence between the structure of the lemma and the structure of the interpretations. According to Hartog, the original commentator "took up two elements from his base text and interpreted them in turn."[20]

> Before the addition of 1QpHab 2:5–10, this interpretation of Hab 1:5 seems to have depended on the clauses "look … and behold" (ראו… והביטו) and "and be utterly

[18] CROSS, F.M./FREEDMAN, D.N./SANDERS, J.A. (ed.): Scrolls From Qumrân Cave 1. The Great Isaiah Scroll, The Order of the Community, The Pesher to Habakkuk. Photographs by J.C. Trever, Jerusalem 1972, 152f.
[19] HARTOG, Priests, 63.
[20] HARTOG, Priests, 67.

> astonished" (והתמהו תמהו) in the lemma. In Hab 1:5 these clauses describe actions of the traitors; in the interpretation, these two similar syntactical structures inform the reference to two groups of traitors. With the addition of 1QpHab 2:5–10, the relation between the lemma and its interpretation changed. The basis for the interpretation was now no longer the two parallel clauses, but the three roots in Hab 1:5. These roots [ראה, נבט, תמה] describe actions of the traitors as well, and their use in the lemma governs the mention of three groups of traitors in the interpretation. Thus, the addition of 1QpHab 2:5–10 to Pesher Habakkuk triggered a redefinition of the link between this interpretation of Hab 1:5 and its lemma.[21]

What is most striking about Hartog's interpretation is that the assumed references to the lemma are neither reflected directly nor indirectly in the wording of the pesher sections. While the lemma demands the addressees to "look … and behold", to be "astonished, amazed", the first pesher section accuses the traitors of disobedience towards the teacher and of breach of the covenant. As to how the gist of this accusation relates to the semantics of the imperatives in Hab 1:5, Hartog offers no explanation. Furthermore, he fails to include into his considerations the direct verbal correspondences between the pesher sections and the lemma. With regard to both pesher sections this concerns – in all likelihood – the mention of the traitors (בוגדים) as addressees of the accusations (l. 1, 3, 5) and the accusation itself as expressed by the negated verb אמן (l. 2[?], 3–4, 6).

The traitors as adddressees in the pesher sections are fully attested in l. 1, and can be reconstructed with relative certainty in l. 3–4, 6. With regard to the lemma, they are not mentioned in Hab 1:5 MT, yet they can be inferred as addressees of the divine speech in Hab 1:5 LXX (and its Hebrew Vorlage?). As has been outlined above, the traitors in Hab 1:5 LXX face imminent divine judgment. The superordinate reason for this judgment is represented in the phrase לא תאמינו (Hab 1:5b; οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε) that mirrors the promise of life for the righteous in Hab 2:4b (וצדיק באמונתו יחיה/ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται). In the LXX, the salvation of the righteous in Hab 2:4b has thus become a hermeneutic key for understanding the divine speech in Hab 1:5ff.

Against this backdrop, it is interesting to note that the lack of faithfulness also appears as accusation of the traitors in both pesher sections. Within the first pesher section a negated form of the verb אמן is fully attested for the breach of covenant in l. 3–4. It may – with due caution – also be assumed in reference to the teacher of righteousness in l. 1–3. In view of l. 2–3 the traitors are accused of […] לוא towards the teacher of righteousness. That the accusation refers to

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21 HARTOG, Priests, 67.

disobedience towards or disbelief in the words of the teacher may be deduced from the phrase מורה הצדקה מפיא אל in l. 2–3. That this misbehavior may have been expressed by a negated form of אמן is suggested by consideration of the prophetic lemma as well as by the correspondence between the function of the teacher in l. 1–3 and the role of the prophets in l. 5–10. Both teacher and prophets convey divine words. Disbelief in their words (לוא אמן) leads to the downfall of the traitors. The juxtaposition of traitors and disbelief mirrors the understanding of Hab 1:5 LXX and supports the assumption that the quotation of Hab 1:5 in 1QpHab Col. I may indeed have read בוגדים instead of בגוים MT.[22]

While both pesher sections thus relate to the lemma in that they perceive the traitors as addressees of a divine speech that concerns their lack of faithfulness, they differ in their reference to time. The first pesher concerns unfaithfulness that already occurred in the past (לוא האמינו); the second pesher addresses unfaithfulness (לוא יאמינוא) of the traitors in the *latter days* (לאחרית הימים). Of both references, the latter corresponds with the prophetic lemma, which indicates future disbelief (לא תאמינו) regarding a deed that will occur "in *your days*" (בימיכם). The object of disbelief in Hab 1:5 is a divine deed. Indirectly, this deed can be identified as divine prophecy through the key word ספר: While the traitors in Hab 1:5 will not believe in the *divine deed*, when it is recounted (יספר), the traitors of the latter days will not be faithful to the words of the prophets through which God recounts (ספר) "*everything that is to come*".

Hab 1:5

5 ראו בגוים [בוגדים] והביטו והתמהו תמהו כי פעל פעל בימיכם לא תאמינו כי יספר׃

1QpHab II:5–10

5 וכן פשר הדבר[על הבו]גדים לאחרית א 6 הימים. המה עריצ[י הבר]ית אשר לוא יאמינוא 7 בשומעם את כול הבא[ות על] הדור האחרון מפי 8 הכוהן אשר נתן אל ב[ ]ה לפשור את כול 9 דברי עבדיו הנביאים[אשר]בידם ספר אל את 10 כול הבאות על עמו וע[ ]

The identification of the divine deed from Hab 1:5 with "everything that is to come" (כול הבאות) connects the interpretation of Hab 1:5 with the pesher section to Hab 2:2f.[23] The lemma text concerns a vision that Habakkuk is asked to record.

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22 Cf. COLLINS, Prophecy, 217.

23 For the general correspondence between Col. II and Col. VII cf. DIMANT, D.: Exegesis and Time in the Pesharim from Qumran, in: dies., History, Ideology and Bible Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Collected Studies, (FAT 90), Tübingen 2014, 315–332 (316f); BAUMGARTEN, A.I.: What Did The 'Teacher' Know? Owls and Roosters in the Qumran Barnyard, in: Sh.

He shall inscribe the vision on a tablet – and legibly, so that the one who reads it may decipher the inscription quickly (Hab 2:2). The vision itself relates to an appointed time in the future and attests to the end. “Though it tarries, wait for it; for it will certainly come (כי בא יבא)” (Hab 2:3). The admonition to “wait for it” anticipates the promise for life that the righteous receives in Hab 2:4b for his faithfulness.

Within the pesher section to Hab 2:2 the vision is identified as that “which is to come” (הבאות, Col. VII:2). According to the interpretation of Hab 2:3a in Col. VII:7–8 the fulfillment of the vision will tarry beyond everything that the prophets spoke – for the secrets of god are mysterious. The mysteriousness of divine secrets segues into the interpretation of Hab 2:3b in l. 10–14. The men of truth, the doers of the torah will not refrain from the work of truth, when the last time will tarry exceedingly. For all periods come according to the time that God has appointed for them (כול קיצי אל יבואו לתכונם) in the secrets of his wisdom. The faithfulness of the doers of the torah anticipates their deliverance in 1QpHab VIII:1–2 that mirrors the judgment envisioned for the traitors in 1QpHab II.[24]

Hab 2:2–4

[2] ויענני יהוה ויאמר כתוב חזון ובאר על הלחות למען ירוץ קורא בו: [3] כי עוד חזון למועד ויפח לקץ ולא יכזב אם יתמהמה חכה לו כי בא יבא לא יאחר: [4] הנה עפלה לא ישרה נפשו בו וצדיק באמונתו יחיה:

1QpHab VII:2, 5–14

[1] וידבר אל אל חבקוק לכתוב את הבאות על [2] על הדור האחרון ואת גמר הקץ לוא הודעו
[5] [...]. כיא עוד חזון [6] למועד יפיח לקץ ולוא יכזב
[ ] [7] פשרו אשר יארוך הקץ האחרון ויתר על כול [8] אשר דברו הנביאים כיא רזי אל להפלה
[9] אם יתמהמה חכה לו כיא בוא יבוא ולוא [10] יאחר
[ ] [ ] פשרו על אנשי האמת [11] עושי התורה אשר לוא ירפו ידיהם מעבודת [12] האמת בהמשך עליהם הקץ האחרון כיא [13] כול קיצי אל יבואו לתכונם כאשר חקק [14] להם ברזי ערמתו.

1QpHab VIII:1–2

[1] פשרו על כול עושי התורה בבית יהודה אשר [2] יצילם אל מבית המשפט בעבור עמלם ואמנתם

Tzoref/I. Young (ed.), Keter Shem Tov. Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of Alan Crown (PHSC 20), Piscataway/NJ 2013, 235–257 (246–248); HARTOG, Priests, or id., HARTOG, P.B.: Pesher and Hypomnema. A Comparison of Two Commentary Traditions from the Hellenistic-Roman Period (STDJ 121), Leiden 2017, 178.

[24] In the extant manuscript the reference to “their faithfulness” in Col. VIII:2 relates to the teacher of righteousness and may imply both faithfulness to the person and his message. Subsequent to the interpretation of Hab 2:2f in Col. VII it may be best understood as faithfulness to the divine prophecy as mediated/interpreted by the teacher.

What does this overview teach us? Firstly, it illustrates that the second pesher section on Hab 1:5 is associated with the pesher sections on Hab 2:2f through the determined participle fem. pl. הבאות, which in both instances refers to divine prophecy. Furthermore, it shows that in the context of Col. VII the root בוא has a reference point in the lemma text (Hab 2:3), where it is emphasized that the vision will not fail to come (כי בא יבא). For the interpretation of Hab 1:5 in Col. II:5–10 no such direct correspondence with the lemma can be perceived. It may then, perhaps, be best understood as a deliberate cross reference to Col. VII that aims to identify the divine deed from Hab 1:5 with the eschatological vision from Hab 2:2f and the subsequent salvation of the righteous (Hab 2:4).

The reason for this equation is readily perceptible. Through the association of Hab 1:5 and Hab 2:2–4, the divine deed is eschatologized. Furthermore, faithfulness towards the eschatological prophecy in Hab 1:5; 2:2f becomes the watershed between the righteous and the wicked. Those who do not refrain from the work of truth despite the delay of salvation (Col. VII:7–14), will be rescued from the house of judgment because of their faithfulness (Col. VIII:1f). Those who are not faithful to the prophetic message, however, will perish (Col. II:5–10).

If these associations have been perceived correctly, 1QpHab II:5–10 follows in the footsteps of Hab 1:5 LXX. Both understand the beginning of the divine speech against the backdrop of Hab 2:3f and render the faithfulness of the righteous the positive foil for the fate of the wicked. In this respect the theological connotation of the term אמן becomes a hermeneutic key for the entire prophecy. It represents the utmost prerequisite for the relation towards the deity. What distinguishes both works is that the LXX constitutes a translation of the prophetic book itself, while 1QpHab reveals itself as a "pesher" of the prophetic book.

As has long been recognized, the

> Hebrew word *pešer* is derived from the common Semitic root *psr* (<*pt̲r) "loosen," "dissolve." Besides Hebrew, the root is attested in Aramaic, Akkadian and Arabic. It has been noted since Oppenheim that the cognate Akkadian verb, *pašaru* […] firmly belongs to the language of Mesopotamian dream divination.[25]

[25] NISSINEN, M.: Pesharim as Divination. Qumran Exegesis, Omen Interpretation and Literary Prophecy, in: K. de Troyer et al. (ed.), The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Prophecy (CBET 52), Leuven 2009, 43–60 (45).

> While the semantic field of *pašaru* is very broad and only a small corner of it has to do with interpretative activity, the noun derived from the verb, *pišru*, quite consistently refers to the unfolding of omens […].[26]

In omen literature the noun *pišru* is used by Assyrian scholars as a technical term. It follows the description of the omen (protasis) and introduces the apodosis – thus resembling the structural use of the noun pesher in the Qumran pesharim. In omen literature correspondence between protasis and apodosis is often achieved through what might be called *punning hermeneutics*. "Paronomasia was a widely-used method in the ancient Near East for asserting the relationship between two entities […]."[27] This hermeneutical concept is also evident in the above described lemma-pesher-correspondence in Col. II; VII and suggests that the pesher merely unveils what was always inherent to the prophetic lemma.

In the case of 1QpHab II:5–10 the pesher unveils certain key words from the prophetic lemma and puts them in an eschatological context: The days of the traitors (בימיכם), in which the divine prophecy from Hab 1:5 will fulfill are "the latter days". Faithfulness towards the divine prophecy in the latter days determines membership of the true Israel. If this re-contextualization of Hab 1:5 may tell us something about its authors, then, perhaps, that they identify with the faithful and refer fulfillment of the divine prophecy to their own lifetime, i.e. the latter days.[28]

The above considerations are not without interest for the interrelation between 1QpHab II:5–10 and 1QpHab II:1–4. The orientation towards imminent fulfillment of the divine prophecy connects 1QpHab II:5–10 with the prophetic lemma. Moreover, the pesher continues the prophetic lemma into the presence of its authors. The same does not apply to 1QpHab II:1–4. Rather, this pesher section relates the accusation against the traitors (בוגדים) to past transgressions pertaining to a lack of faithfulness (לוא אמן). In association with the lemma, these references seem to serve as a demonstration of guilt that aims to justify divine judgment: The lack of faithfulness is identified with specific transgressions that will lead to future punishment. If these observations apply, the first pesher section relies on

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[26] NISSINEN, Pesharim, 47.

[27] BROIDA, M.: Textualizing Divination:The Writing on the Wall in Daniel 5:25, VT 62 (2012), 1–13 (9).

[28] For the phenomenon of paronomasia in pesher texts cf. TZOREF (BERRIN), S.: Lemma/Pesher Correspondence in Pesher Nahum, in: L.H. Schiffman et al. (ed.), The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery, Jerusalem 2000, 341–350, or TZOREF (BERRIN), S.: The Pesher Nahum Scroll from Qumran: an exegetical study of 4Q169 (StDJ 53), Leiden 2004, 11.

the conception of imminent judgment as outlined in the lemma and the second pesher section.

That, indeed, the first pesher section not only refers to the lemma, but also presupposes the second pesher section, is suggested by a contentual overlap, namely the motif of faithfulness/obedience towards the mediators of divine words. In 1QpHab II:1–4 this concerns the teacher of righteousness, in 1QpHab II:5–10 the prophets – and indirectly the priest who interprets (פשר) their message. What distinguishes both passages is their primary focus. In 1QpHab II:9f the words of the prophets mediate the divine message that includes "everything which is to come". The main point of interest here is the identification of the divine deed from Hab 1:5 with the overall prophetic message (כול הבאות), which is interpreted against the backdrop of an ongoing delay in fulfillment (לאחרית הימים). In view of this delay, (un)faithfulness to the divine prophecy becomes the watershed between salvation and judgment. 1QpHab II:1–4, on the other hand, does not concentrate on the divine prophecy, but rather on the divine mediator, whose message equals the word of god. Focus thus shifts from the authority of the divine prophecy towards the authority of the divine mediator. As one who speaks directly מפיא אל, the human mediator receives divine authority. The divine authority thus granted to the mediator renders (dis)obedience towards him a watershed between salvation and judgment.

The above comparison is instructive for determining the relation between 1QpHab II:1–4 and 1QpHab II:5–10. Firstly, the interpretation of 1QpHab II:5–10 primarily focuses on the re-contextualization of aspects from the lemma. The divine deed communicated as part of the prophetic book will fulfill in the imminent eschaton. While the mention of the prophets thus reflects the character of Hab 1:5 as part of the prophetic message, through which God communicates his deeds, the reference to the teacher in 1QpHab II:1–4 is not readily deduced from the lemma. His depiction, however, clearly overlaps with the role of the prophets in 1QpHab II:5–10. This evidence may, perhaps, easiest be explained by assuming that 1QpHab II:1–4 was written in awareness of 1QpHab II:5–10. It reflects upon the mediation of divine words and will. In 1QpHab II:1–4 the earthly mediation thereof is discussed against the backdrop of faithfulness. Faithfulness in the sense of obedience towards the earthly mediation of divine will, i.e. the teacher and the new covenant, constitutes a necessary prerequisite for

a relation towards the deity. Those who have not fulfilled these criteria in the past will be met with divine judgment in the eschaton.

In view of the above considerations, it seems reasonable to assume that 1QpHab II:1–4 represents a theological reflection on Hab 1:5; 1QpHab II:5–10. It provides the older context with a demonstration of guilt that identifies certain transgressions against earthly manifestations of divine will as entailing divine judgment.[29] Its position in the current context is guided by this intention: The transgressions are located in the past, while judgment is imminent in 1QpHab II:5–10.

Hab 1:5

[5] ראו בגוים [בוגדים] והביטו והתמהו תמהו כי פעל פעל בימיכם לא תאמינו כי יספר׃

1QpHab II:1–10

[1] יסופר. [ ][ ]פשר הדבר על [הבוגדים עם איש [2] הכזב כי לוא[האמינו בדברי]
מורה הצדקה מפיא [3] אל. ועל הבוג[דים בברית] החדשה כ[י]א [לו]א [4] האמינו
בברית אל [ויחללו] את ש[ם]קודשו[5] וכן

[7] פשר הדבר[על הבו]גדים לאחרית א [6] הימים. המה עריצ[י הבר]ית אשר לוא יאמינוא
בשומעם את כול הבא[ות על] הדור האחרון מפי [8] הכוהן אשר נתן אל ב[ ]ה לפשור את
כול [9] דברי עבדיו הנביאים[אשר]בידם ספר אל את [10] כול הבאות על עמו וע[ ]

(3) Conclusion

To conclude: Hab 1:5 MT marks the beginning of a divine speech, the purpose of which is polyseme. In MT, the verse could either be interpreted as promise of salvation for the righteous or as proclamation of judgment against the wicked. This ambivalence is avoided in the LXX and in 1QpHab, where the addressees of the divine speech are identified with the traitors (οἱ καταφρονηταί, בוגדים) from Hab 1:13b, whose lack of faithfulness (לוא אמן) mirrors the description of the righteous in Hab 2:4b. The interconnections illustrate that the LXX and 1QpHab

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[29] In the extant text the literary heterogeneity manifests in the equation of the traitors in l. 5f with the transgressors from l. 3f. The phrase המה עריצ[י הבר]ית interrupts the mention of the traitors with the accusation of unfaithfulness. Its primary purpose seems to consist in identifying the traitors from the second pesher section with the transgression from the first pesher.

Another addition to the context may be seen in the mention of the priest, whose function here presupposes the context from 1QpHab VII:1–5, where the words of the prophets are revealed as containing divine secrets. Those secrets, the teacher of righteousness can unveil owing to participation in divine knowledge (VII:4f). The mention of the priest in col. II tacitly relies on this information, which is only made available to the reader in Col. VII. From a literary critical perspective the exclusion of the teacher is supported by a *Wiederaufnahme* of the phrase כול הבאות from l. 10 in l. 7. The *Wiederaufnahme* coincides with a shift in accentuation: While l. 10 refers כול הבאות to all of "his people", l. 7 restricts the circle of addressees to the "last generation".

interpret Hab 1:5 in view of the "finalized" text and thereby harmonize ambiguities that are perceptible within MT. The interpretation in the LXX and 1QpHab may thus offer us twofold insight regarding the genesis of the prophetic book: While the attempt of harmonization may indicate seams of literary growth, the inclusion of specific aspects from the broader context into the process of harmonization points us to accentuations that determine our reading perspective of the "finalized" text. In view of their programmatic influence on the overall prophetic message those accentuations may – in all likelihood – belong to late stages of the literary genesis.

While the LXX and 1QpHab compare in their interpretation of Hab 1:5, they differ in that the former constitutes a translation of the prophetic text, whereas the latter offers a "pesher" to Hab 1–2. From an etic perspective, this "pesher" adds new aspects to the prophetic lemmata. In view of tradition-historical considerations, however, the "pesher" is better described as disclosure of the hidden meaning inherent to the lemmata. Its hermeneutic strategy resembles ANE omen literature, where protasis and apodosis are often connected through different kinds of paronomasia. It thus figures, that 1QpHab II:5–10 resumes certain key aspects from the lemma, the hidden meaning of which the pesher unveils. In the latter days (לאחרית הימים, Hab 1:5 בימיכם), the traitors (בוגדים) will face divine judgment in view of their lacking faithfulness (לוֹא אמן) towards the divine prophecy. The interpretation of the lemma continues the prophecy into the lifetime of its authors, the latter days.

This re-contextualization of the lemma seems to have been supplemented by 1QpHab II:1–4, 5(only וכן). The passage reflects judgment of the traitors against the backdrop of certain past transgressions. In this regard, the function of the prophets as mouthpiece of god from l. 9f is transferred to the teacher. In contrast to the older context, the close relation between the human mediator and his deity no longer serves to emphasize the truthfulness of the prophecy, but rather aims to establish divine authority for the teacher. Disobedience towards the teacher is thus punishable by divine judgment. On a related note, unfaithfulness to the covenant as symbol of mediation between Israel and her god leads to exclusion from the elect. In nuce, 1QpHab II:1–4 is concerned with a definition of the true Israel as defined by faithfulness towards the legitimate institutions of divine mediation. In the broader context of 1QpHab the passage serves as a programmatic

superscription for the transgressions outlined in the individual pesher sections to Hab 1:6–2:20.